NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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WAR & PEACE

# Will Eisenhower let the madmen take us into war?

By Kumar Goshal

IN his message to Congress last week President Eisenhower boosted the chances of war by asking for

". . . a blank-check emergency authorization to use U.S. armed forces not only to defend [Formosa and the Pescadores Islands] but also to permit attacks upon threatening Chinese Communist concentrations on nearby islands and on the China mainland" (N.Y. **Times**, 1/25).

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
**Good place to establish a blockade.**

Coming at a time when tensions were relaxing after UN Secy.-Gen. Hammarskjold's "useful" trip to China and Peking's invitation to Americans to visit their imprisoned relatives, the message carried ominous overtones. The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (1/25) reported that, in answer to a question by Sen. Alben Barkley (D-Ky.), Secy. Dulles had admitted the Senate resolution based on the message amounted to "an advance declaration of war." Britain's **Manchester Guardian** saw the message as tending to increase world tension; the London **Times** asked dourly: "Is it war?"

**THE STRANGLERS:** The President's message reflected the sharpening of the "inner crisis" in the Administration over its Far Eastern policy, as predicted (11/29/54, 12/1/54) by Stewart Alsop:

"No government can go on indefinitely facing two ways on the basic issues of policy. . . . You cannot . . . seek a way of living with the Communist world and seek to strangle the Chinese Communist baby in its cradle."

SEE EDITORIAL, P. 4

Since last fall an attempt to co-ordinate U.S.-British Far Eastern policy was indicated in the "two China's" concept: Britain seemed willing to accept a sovereign Formosa under Chiang, the U.S. seemed ready to let Peking take over the off-shore islands. Two weeks ago Adm. Radford—representing those who advocate "strangling Communist China in the cradle"—returned from a Far East tour; according to Alsop (1/26) he convinced Secy. Dulles, who in turn persuaded Eisenhower, to agree "to bomb the Chinese mainland if this is deemed necessary for the defense of the [Chiang-held] islands of Quemoy and Matsu."

But listing "the off-shore islands among [U.S.] strategic objectives," the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** pointed out editorially (1/26), makes 'the chance of securing a cease-fire . . . virtually non-existent. . . ."

**FRUITS OF FAILURE:** Eisenhower's between-two-stools message has opened the door to the Knowland-Radford-China Lobby axis; and Congress, by its approval (**Christian Science Monitor**, 1/25), is already

". . . asserting a strong gravitational pull. . . . There is little doubt that inflammatory elements in Congress

(Continued on Page 4)

**The junior and senior Senators from Formosa**

**Among those cheering the belligerent White House message on Formosa this week were these two jolly-looking law-makers — Sens. Wm. F. Knowland and Styles Bridges. They're Chiang's favorite Senators and their souls — one imagines they do have reasonable facsimiles — belong to the Generalissimo.**

**EMANUEL H. BLOCH**

**One year ago, on Jan. 30, 1954, the attorney for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg died at the age of 52. His great heart gave out after the years of pressure in the fight to save the Rosenbergs and the new attacks which were being made on his own career. In the hearts of millions of people throughout the world Manny Bloch's name is forever enshrined with all that is fine and decent and courageous in human beings.**

SEDITION CASE VICTIM'S BAIL IS $40,000

# Kentucky begins to stir on Braden

By Ione Kramer

AS newspaperman Carl Braden, unable to raise the $40,000 bail set for him, awaited transfer to Kentucky's LaGrange Reformatory pending appeal, Kentuckians were beginning to speak out about the fantastic events leading to his conviction. Braden was found guilty of "advocating sedition" and sentenced to 15 years in jail and a fine of $5,000 after he and his wife Anne helped a Negro, Andrew Wade IV, buy a house in the all-white Louisville suburb of Shively.

In a column headed "Was Carl Braden Framed for Helping Negroes?" Jack Chancellor, leading columnist for the Negro newspaper **Louisville Defender**, wrote (1/13):

"The Commonwealth of Kentucky has seized upon the communist line as an excuse to prosecute the Bradens and others for helping Negroes. A dangerous precedent is being set which will say to individuals or groups regardless of race that when you aid a Negro in his struggle for first-class citizenship, you will be persecuted and called a 'red.'"

Relationship between the use of witch-hunting and the South's pattern of keeping the Negro "in his place" was clearly indicated by the city of Louisville's action, following the Braden decision, in throwing out a suit against a segregated swimming-pool brought by Wade's father, Andrew Wade, Jr.

**NAMES WITHHELD:** A press release from the Kentucky Bureau of Negro Affairs, a volunteer group, criticized Commonwealth Atty. A. Scott Hamilton for not prosecuting the persons who bombed Wade's house after a KKK-type terror campaign and fiery cross-burning. The grand jury which was supposed to investigate the bombing investigated the books and ideas of Wade's supporters. It indicted Braden and six others on sedition counts for plotting the bombing to "stir up race trouble." The Bureau pointed out:

". . . The only full investigation has been centered around the communist theory, even though it has been known since September (not publicly) who two or three of the persons are that were involved in the cross-burning. Why is this fact withheld from the public?"

When Hamilton announced postponement of the trial—set for February—of truckdriver Vernon Bown, who was indicted separately for setting the bomb though he was out of town at the time, Bown's lawyer demanded a speedy trial or release from jail. Bown and his roommate, 79-year-old riverboatman I. O. Ford, who was also indicted, have been in the county jail since Sept. 15 unable to raise $10,000 bail each.

**CRIMINAL LIBRARIES?** Seeing "a large number of civil liberties issues" in the case, the American Civil Liberties Union has appointed its observer at the first trial to be co-counsel on Braden's appeal. Listing several points on the appeal, such as vagueness of charges and unconstitutionality of the law under which Braden was convicted, ACLU director Patrick Malin said:

"The mere possession of Communist literature with intent to distribute [which the state charged, though Braden denied] cannot constitutionally be considered a crime; if so nearly every library in the

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# THE MAIL BAG

### Emanuel Bloch

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Emanuel Bloch died on Jan. 30, 1954. Flesh and blood succumbed to inhuman, prolonged strain, deepened by grief for the loss of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. A grave claimed his mortal remains as it has claimed his peers of past generations. But death can never alienate from us the imperishably golden legacy of such immortal spirits with that eternal challenge to heart and conscience: "Fight the Good Fight!" Muriel I. Symington

### Southern schools

NEW YORK, N. Y.

They read Strictures for Scriptures
From the Gulf to Tennessee
"Suffer ye little children (white only)
To come unto me."

Lawrence Gellert

### Look again, Abe

YORK, PA.

One of your correspondents, Abraham Lincoln, makes a statement in your Jan. 17 issue that is very much in error and I think it ought to be corrected. Right under the masthead on p. 2, a very prominent position, he says: "The workingmen are the basis of all governments, for the plain reason that they are the most numerous."

Well, this fellow Lincoln may be a foreigner and writing about some other people or maybe he just came across some pretty whiskered figures, but it is not true that workingmen are the most numerous people in the U. S. today. I quote: "In 1870, over three-fourths, and in 1940, slightly less than one-half of the total employed were engaged in producing things." The exact figure is 46% producing and 54% servicing distributing and coordinating.

This quote and information come from a book called "White Collar," by Prof C. Wright Mills of Columbia, and I recommend it to anyone who wants to find out whatever happened to democracy in the U. S. A. Now, of course, if you consider white-collar people workingmen, that puts a different light on Mr. Lincoln's statistics. There may come such a day, but I don't think your writer had these middle class citizens in mind. This is the way Prof. Mills describes them: ". . . their characteristic skills involve the handling of paper and money and people . . . the one thing they do not do is live by making things; rather they live off the social machineries that organize and coordinate the people who do make things. White-collar people help turn what someone else has made into profit for still another. They are the people who keep track. . . ."

It is really quite a depressing book: "If they aspire at all it is to a middle course at a time when no middle course is available, and hence to an illusory course in an imaginary society. . . . As a group, they do not threaten anyone; as individuals, they do not practice an independent way of life. . . . Yet it is to this (numerically superior) white-collar world that one must look for much that is characteristic of 20th century (American) experience." David Wesley

## How crazy can you get dept.

KODAK CUTS PRICE OF COLOR FILMS, SETTLES U. S. SUIT—Eastman Kodak Co. has agreed to sell Kodachrome and Kodacolor camera films without the processing charge now included in the purchase price. . . . Atty. Gen. Brownell said the agreement settled an anti-trust proceeding which the Justice Dept. had started against Eastman. . . .

An Eastman representative said "present prospects" are that the 20-exposure roll of Kodachrome now selling for $3.25, processing included, will be sold hereafter for $1.85. Eastman, he said, then would charge $1.50 for processing, bringing the total cost to $3.35.

—Cleveland Plain Dealer, Dec. 22, 1954.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: H. Hirschberg, Cleveland.

### The unity of labor

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

I came across in 1907 and am 64, and I am happy for the first time to know that the AFL and CIO want to affiliate together. I am wondering if the other organizations — the miners', maritime, steelworkers' unions — will consider that their affiliation with the AFL and CIO is very important to make a united front of all for one, one for all. While we are able to produce the necessities of life we should have the right to enjoy them whenever we wish to. If the leaders are going to delay on this important affiliation, then maybe it'll be too late and they cannot lay the blame on anyone else. A. Cuscuna

### Or maybe they did

CHICAGO, ILL.

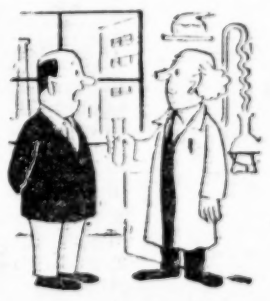
I sent this letter to the Chicago Sun-Times, which did not print it:

Your editor must have been on a New Year spree when he wrote: "As realists, the French must know that the Soviet threat is genuine and immediate whereas the German threat is so remote as perhaps never to materialize" (editorial, Jan. 1).

Maybe the French never read Alice's Adventures in Wonderland: "A large rose tree stood near the entrance of the garden; the roses growing on it were white, but there were three gardeners at it, busily painting them red. . . ."

Maybe the French never read Mein Kampf: "In the size of the lie there is always contained a certain factor of credibility, since the great masses of the peoples . . . perhaps also lie sometimes in little things, but would certainly still be too ashamed of too great lies. Thus such an untruth will not at all enter their heads and therefore they will be unable to believe in the possibility of the enormous impudence of the most infamous distortion in others. . . ."

Albert Bofman



Carrefour, Paris

**"Synthetic chlorophyl is fine, Professor Jones, but can't you make it explode?"**

### The poor Russians

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

Henry J. Taylor recently broadcast over NBC an explanation of how hard automobiles are to get in Russia—how people have to wait a year or two, be interviewed by police and identify themselves even with finger prints, sign forms, take oaths, and finally secure what would correspond to one of the cheaper models here 10 or 15 years ago and only one to the family.

Listening to him was a widowed mother in Oklahoma City who, because she had to raise her children during the Depression, has not owned an automobile since 1928. Now when she could afford one if she had a decent job she has been rejected for work in a defense plant by the FBI after laboring for hours over Civil Service forms and waiting two years—because she once said that Communists in the U. S. were misrepresented and abused. Of course, if she had been accepted she would have had to sign more forms, loyalty oaths, etc. Busses in her community (inside the city limits) are an hour apart, cost 52c per round trip, and do not give transfers to regular city busses. A regular city bus serving her neighborhood has recently been discontinued because a private company was not making a profit on it.

One of thousands of such people

### Portland "prosperity"

PORTLAND, ORE.

Employment conditions here are bad. The people are given daily doses of propaganda to the effect that Oregonians are enjoying a greater prosperity than ever before. Just recently in Portland two large sawmills and the largest furniture factory in the West called it quits.

Unemployment has reached such proportions that the conservative Portland Central Labor Council found it necessary to take a survey among its affiliated locals. At the halfway mark President Bill Way told the Council unemployment in the area "is pretty serious" and indicated that some of the publicity given work prospects is "ill-founded."

P. S. The GUARDIAN is tops in our family. Dirk De Jonge

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*"God, if Thy will be so,*
*"Enrich the time to come with smooth-faced peace,*
*"With smiling plenty and fair prosperous days!"*
—SHAKESPEARE, Richard III, Act V, Sc. 5.

REPORT TO READERS

# The state of our Case

HOW'S YOUR CASE COMING? This—as someone pointed out to us recently—is fast becoming a standard greeting when progressive meets progressive in these parts.

Our case—the Belfrage Case—is coming up before the Board of Immigration Appeals in a few weeks and, if the decision is adverse, we will need considerable help with it from there on.

In a normal world, the Belfrage Case would have been tossed out of court a year and a half ago, on its first round. But under the Walter-McCarran Law, the whole fantastic business becomes very real and must be studied by the learned judges with the same seriousness with which medieval scholars determined how many angels could stand on a pin-point.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE faces deportation to his native England—which ceased to be his homeland 20 years ago—because he is alleged to have been a Communist in Hollywood 17 years ago. The evidence of this "charge" was so thin that no jury could have accepted it. All that was proved—but it needed no "hearing" to prove it, since politically Belfrage has always lived in a goldfish bowl—is that then as now he held left-wing views such as were expressed by a multitude of literate Americans in the Thirties. Those views were then and are today quite legal and we think, most important.

But Belfrage is in jeopardy today because of his foreign birth and because the Walter-McCarran Law, which was enacted in 1952, enables deportation of "aliens" for activities and affiliations quite legally undertaken years before the Law proscribed them.

In our view, this is a disgraceful situation and one that should be altered. Interestingly enough, our view is matched by, among many others, the expressed view of Thomas G. Finucane, chairman of the Board of Immigration Appeals, before which we must appear to appeal the deportation order against Belfrage.

IN THE FALL OF '52 Mr. Finucane and six other members of President Truman's Commission on Immigration & Naturalization studied the Walter-McCarran Law (which was passed over Truman's veto) and held hearings on it in 11 cities. They heard more than 600 witnesses, representing virtually every labor, religious, racial and national grouping in the country, and found hardly anybody who favored the Law. They they issued a report on Jan. 1, 1953, which recommended in part:

"The grounds for deportation of aliens should bear a reasonable relationship to the national welfare and security; not be technical or excessive; not be retroactive so as to penalize aliens for acts which were not prohibited when committed . . .

"Unless proceedings for deportation and denaturalization are brought within ten years, they should be barred."

This, of course, is not the law; it is only what some of the nation's leading citizens, including present and former Immigration Dept. and State Dept. officials, believe should be the law.

We believe so, too, and the Belfrage Case is exactly the kind of "retroactive" penalizing the President's Commission has opposed.

WE ARE NOW GOING TO PRESS with a 16-page pamphlet containing Cedric Belfrage's personal presentation of the case as it has appeared in the GUARDIAN in recent weeks; and setting forth more fully the views of the President's Commission calling for revision of the Walter-McCarran Law.

We will gladly send you any specified number of these pamphlets. We believe you will find them especially useful in convincing your friends and associates of the urgent necessity of expressing opposition to the Walter-McCararn Law, which abrogates the security and liberties of 26,000,000 foreign-born Americans. —THE EDITORS

## ARMS STOCKS WENT SOARING

# The Budget and you

By Victor Perlo

ON Jan. 17 President Eisenhower delivered his budget message. On Jan. 18 Douglas Aircraft was up 6⅜, General Dynamics (aircraft and submarines) 4¾; armament issues featured the day on the N.Y. Stock Exchange.

"The fiscal and budget story," said the President, "centers around the fact that we successfully made the adjustment from a wartime to a peacetime type of economy." But while "national security" spending has fallen by almost $10 billion in the past two fiscal years, and Washington dope stories predicted a continued gradual decline, the new budget's $40,458 million for this purpose

AFL News Reporter
"STOP! THAT'S SOCIALISM!"

—almost the same as the estimated $40,644 million in the current fiscal year—actually increases military spending percentagewise, from 64 to 64.8% of the total budget.

**BEHIND THE "SLIPPAGE":** There are "jokers" in the budget which may hide a higher military spending figure than the one given:

- The President, after totaling each of the armed services' budget estimates, subtracted $1,750 million as Defense Secy. Wilson's estimate of "savings, slippages and program adjustments." What if Wilson is wrong, and the military chiefs right, about what they will spend?
- New procurement of military supplies will be increased, even though dollar spending may not. The budgeted new "obligational authority"—that is, authority to let contracts—for military purposes is raised $2,356 million. The budget for air-power procurement is higher than ever before in peacetime. Total number of aircraft in combat units will be up one-fourth by mid-1956; the current plan is to raise the number of Air Force wings from 118 now to 137 in mid-1957, which is three more than were planned during the Korean War. To supply more A- and H-bombs for the added bombers, the Atomic Energy Commission's operating expense budget is upped 20%.

**ARMED CAMP BLUEPRINT:** Official commentaries show that the intention is to maintain the present level of military spending at least several years. Politically, this sets this military budget as a minimum—with any "incident," any overt increase in world tension, as the likely excuse for raising it. Clearly emerging is a threat to convert the country into an armed camp; to accelerate the stockpiling of the most aggressive and destructive armaments; to set the stage for inevitable later increase in arms spending.

While calling for a drop of 400,000 in regular armed forces in two years, Eisenhower's proposal for a disguised UMT would actually increase armed forces, including special reserves. Military base construction and expansion outlay, here and abroad, is up $300 million.

N.Y. **Times** military analyst Hanson Baldwin (1/18) pointed out the inner logic of this heavily Air Force-weighted budget. He said the Air Force projected will require some $18-$20 billion yearly just for maintenance, which is some $3.5-$5.5 billion more than budgeted for fiscal 1956. This situation, and the increase in "obligational authority" already noted, "may well mean an increase in actual defense expenditures in future years, unless something 'gives.'"

Foreign military aid is up $450 million to $3,675. The President indicates most of this increase is for starting the rearmament of W. Germany.

**MORE TENSION:** The U.S.S.R. started to cut arms spending early in 1953, before we did, and has at least matched our subsequent cuts. Doubtless the cuts on both sides contributed to last year's easing of tension, to the slight progress made in UN toward serious disarmament negotiations and atomic power negotiations.

The new turn toward heavier U.S. arms spending—**without any provocation abroad existing or even claimed as an excuse,** and hidden by budget legerdemain—threatens last year's disarmament start, and can throw the world into a dangerous new arms race. Taken together with the attempted arming of W. Germany, the budget threatens rising international tension in 1955.

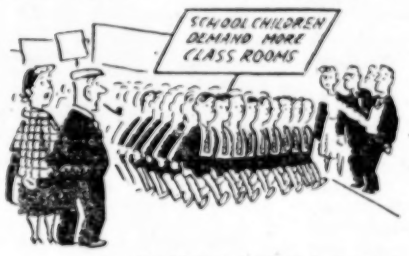
Significantly, the Cabinet has now agreed to ask Congress for broad "standby" powers in event of a national emergency, powers which they considered unnecessary two years ago.

**LESS FOR THE PEOPLE:** There is plenty of opposition to a new arms race from most countries East and West, but still no powerful **organized** opposition within the U.S. The nominal political opposition, the Democratic Party, far from calling for cuts in the military budget, continues to complain that it may be too low. The main trade union centers remain silent, refusing to see the conflict between militarization and their forward-looking domestic programs.

York in Louisville Times
"Flexible support?"

This conflict is brought out in the civilian side of the budget. Net scheduled spending for farm price supports is off 50% ($1,934 to $968 million), reflecting lowered support levels and enforced acreage reductions. Natural resource development expenditures are off $130 million, with TVA, followed by flood-control projects, absorbing the bulk of the cut. The postal budget is off $400 million, reflecting a proposed hike in rates to the public. Federal aid to education is cut 20%, housing expenditures $300 million.

In addition the President urges cuts, as yet not budgeted, in veterans' benefits and in Federal contributions to public assistance—both aimed primarily at the adequacy of relief for the increasing number of jobless. The much-talked-of $50 billion Federal road program boils down to an increase of just $66 million in the 1956 budget—a tiny fraction of the several-billion-dollar cut in other welfare spending.




Drawing by Gabriel, London
**"They're inseparable after school hours, those children—they're so jammed together during school hours!"**

**MORE FOR MILLIONAIRES:** Owing to last year's giveaway tax reductions for the wealthy, Federal receipts are estimated to fall by $5.7 billion in this fiscal year for a deficit of $4.5 billion. For next year Eisenhower estimates another deficit of $2.4 billion. This is on the expectation of a steady 18-month rise in economic conditions, and hence in tax revenues—an assumption which the **Journal of Commerce** (1/18) thinks "may prove on the optimistic side" and fears a larger deficit.

Actually, the "orthodox" bankers may hold their noses, but by and large they as well as big business generally are committed to a policy of continuous inflation of profits—and inevitably of prices—through heavy arms spending and reduced taxes on wealth and income. They will use the scheduled budget deficit as an argument against all attempts by unions, farm organizations and Democratic politicians to get more spending for public works, housing, farm aid, and other measures to improve living conditions.

Will these organizations see the logic of the situation, and finally call for a sharp reduction in war preparations, so that there can be increased spending for welfare **and** a balanced budget? Popular pressure on the leaders of organizations and on Congress can produce this result, and help save the peace which the new budget threatens.

### More dough for ghouls

The new budget gives another $10 million to the FBI for probing of "criminal, internal security and subversive activities" ($78 million last year, $88 million this year) and an extra million ($45,000,000 for the year) to the Immigration & Naturalization Service for excluding and ejecting "undesirables."

Reporting on its "busiest year to date," the Immigration Service said it had deported 61 "subversives," started deportation proceedings against 102 more, conducted more than 110 million border-crossing examination and "apprehended" 266,788 Mexicans.

## TOOK 19 MONTHS

# Infested grain ban is back in effect

IT TOOK a year and seven months and an unknown number of protests, but the government on Jan. 4 announced that grain infested by rats and insects will be seized and channeled off for animal feed instead of being allowed to find its way to the dinner table.

The enforcement program against dirty grain, instituted under President Truman's administration, was suspended in May, 1953, by Secy. Hobby of the Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare. Later it became known that the curb on infested grain had been bitterly opposed by big midwestern grain speculators and that at least one influential Senator had carried their protests to the White House. The suspension followed. Thereafter housewives around the country found contaminated grain products in their kitchens and complaints began to flow to Washington.

**MILLERS PLEASED:** Flour millers themselves hailed the announcement; their organization, the Millers' Natl. Foundation, had held a two-day national conference on grain sanitation last November.

George P. Larrick, Food & Drug Administrator whose agency is directly responsible for enforcing the clean grain program, also welcomed the announcement. He said:

"There is ample clean grain available in this country. It is not necessary at all for any dirty grain to go to the mills."

## LOVETT'S LETTER

# ASP Council fights list'ng by Brownell

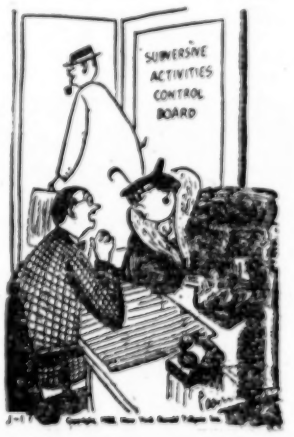
DR. ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, honorary chairman of the Natl. Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, has notified Atty. Gen. Brownell that the Council plans to contest Brownell's proposed listing of it as subversive.

Dr. Lovett, former Secretary of the Virgin Islands and emeritus professor of literature at the U. of Chicago, gave three reasons for the Council's action:

"1. The Council is not and never has been a subversive organization. . . . Through the years the Council has been composed of individuals of different professional specialties, different religions, races and political beliefs, united in a common program for the advancement of American culture and democracy in a world at peace.

"2. We are against the principle of the government's 'listing' whole batches of Americans as 'subversive.' Such actions are part of the fabric of McCarthyism.

"3. We bear a responsibility to our members and supporters, past and present. . . . They and their careers should not be penalized by ex post facto inquisitions into their loyalty with subsequent jeopardy to their very livelihoods."




N.Y. Herald Tribune
**"Even though your husband doesn't come home nights, ma'am, we can't list his pinochle club as a subversive group."**

### The practical approach: Eat as you lay dying

Atom and hydrogen bombs may carry death, destruction and pain to Denver residents but they won't bring hunger.

This was revealed in a report on "Operations Welcome," the mock evacuation staged by the Weld County civil defense agency Dec. 5. The report . . . revealed that there was a staggering quantity of edibles ready for a quarter million evacuees from the Denver area, in case of a bomb attack. . . .

Ren F. Read, regional FDCA tactical officer, said the capacity of rural areas in Weld County to absorb and care for non-casualty evacuees from the Denver area was not tested because an inadequate number of cars and people participated. More than 2,000 evacuees were expected from Denver for the test, and only 534 in 170 cars actually appeared.

"However, the exercise demonstrated that the plan for evacuee care has been established on a well-thought-out and extremely practical basis," the report said.

—Denver **Rocky Mt. News,** Jan. 1

# Editorial: Does China belong to China — or to us?

**AS WE GO TO PRESS, the air is filled with loud roars from Washington about the "defense" by U.S. armed forces of Formosa and other islands up to a few miles from the coast of China. Our government solemnly went on record during World War II that all these are an integral part of China.**

**We don't know how many Americans are fooled by the righteous poses being struck by our "spokesmen." Even the Iowans polled by so comparatively sane a publication as Wallace's Farmer & Iowa Homestead don't seem to have noticed the essential dishonesty of the question asked them: "If the island [Formosa] is invaded by the Communists, what should the U.S. do?" "The Communists"—that is, the government of China recognized by most of the world—can no more "invade" Formosa than we can "invade" Nantucket or Catalina. But, even if they didn't see through the question, the Iowans' reply shows little enthusiasm to die for Chiang Kai-shek: only 17% wanted the U.S. to fight for something no other nation is willing to fight for.**

**WE DON'T BELIEVE the dominant elements in Washington want to risk world war by fighting to prevent China "invading" its own territory. They have stuck America's hand into a beehive and would like to get it out gracefully—if acting like a brash bully can be called graceful.**

**But these elements have got themselves into a hopeless dilemma and have no positive policy, while the Radford-Knowland madmen do have one and see a new chance to take the ball. The danger is once more acute that war may be touched off by some "incident" thousands of miles from anywhere remotely connected with defense of this country. There are already ominous hints in the press that the President's request could mean "hitting at the China mainland" even before any attempted "invasion" of Formosa.**

**Stripping aside all the moralistic cant, the facts are plain:**

- **Chiang's pretensions to repossessing China—or even to being capable of staying in Formosa without his American shield—are sheer eyewash, as all the world knows. The only possible purpose of keeping him under our protection in the islands is to maintain a base for him to continue harassing China, killing its people with American aid and material, deepening their hatred of him and of Washington.**
- **By solemnly agreeing to defend him in what we and all the great Powers have recognized as a part of China, it is we who commit aggression and nobody else.**

**WE SUGGEST that you write a letter or postcard a day to Congressmen, Senators, Foreign Relations committeemen and the President, reminding them that (a) these islands are part of China, and Americans will not participate in aggression; and (b) the Boxer Rebellion days, when the West could frighten China into line with a few gunboats, are over—this time it's us who'll get hurt.**

**We suggest that Senators be bombarded with demands that the "mutual defense" treaty with Chiang, now coming up for ratification, be consigned to the Senate garbage can—OR ELSE.**

**—THE EDITORS**

## War & Peace

*(Continued from Page 1)*

might still easily take fire. . . . [The danger is] less that he [the President] will not get enough support than that he will get too much."

If the Administration, which has no positive policy, is seeking to ease tensions—as was indicated by Secy. Dulles' recent minimizing of the importance of the Tachen islands which he favored

Vicky in London Mirror

holding two months ago—it has made this more difficult by its concessions to the Radford-Knowland axis which is pressing toward war with China. Washington's dilemma is that, essentially, it would like to turn the Far East into an equivalent of its Latin American preserves; but any attempt to carry Chiang from Formosa to China would alienate all U.S. allies, who are increasingly reluctant even to help preserve him in Formosa. Washington is reaping the fruits of continuing failure in the Far East: intervention in Indo-China failed; Peking's influence is spreading and is bound to affect the forthcoming Afro-Asian conference; Japan is edging closer to normal relations with Peking and Moscow.

If the message was intended as a "Big Stick," it had no visible effect on Chinese Premier Chou En-lai, who said on the same day that

> ". . . to safeguard China's sovereignty, territorial integrity . . . and peace in the Far East, the Chinese people must liberate Taiwan [Formosa] and the U.S. must stop intervening in China's internal affairs and withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits."

The danger of war loomed in Washington's decision to evacuate the Tachens in face of air attack, and to hold other islands for Chiang. If a Korea-like situation should develop, Eisenhower's message would help get Congress to share the repercussions, and to head off accusations of an "Eisenhower war" as Truman was accused of a "Truman war."

**THE FRAIL LEASH:** Seeds of U.S.-China conflict were planted in June, 1950, when President Truman sent the Seventh Fleet to support Chiang in Formosa. War was narrowly averted last September when Eisenhower vetoed U.S. air and naval intervention urged by a majority of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Secy. Dulles as retaliation against Peking's bombing of the Chiang-held off-shore island of Quemoy. Gen. Ridgway felt the U.S. did not have enough ground troops to follow through after such intervention.

But the danger of conflict continued as Dulles concocted and signed a U.S.-Chiang "mutual security" treaty—now pending before the Senate—pledging U.S. action in case of an attack on Formosa, the Pescadores or "such other territories as may be determined by mutual agreement." This definition left the U.S. field of intervention wide open among Chiang-held islands scattered over 350 miles.

Peking's recent occupation of Yikiangshan, and its attempt to recover the Tachens, reflected its anxiety—as expressed by Chou to Hammarskjold this month—over a possible U.S.-supported invasion from the islands. Pointing out that Tachen "has been a base for harassment of the mainland," the **Christian Science Monitor**'s Joseph C. Harsch noted (1/19) that, to the U.S.,

> ". . . Tachen, and most other islands of the off-shore screen, is more important offensively than defensively. It is not vital to the defense of Japan, Okinawa, or even Formosa. . . . "

Harsch concluded that Peking's pressure on the off-shore islands was aimed at preventing a "possible blockade of the China coast"—strongly urged by Adm. Radford—and "continued harassment of that coast."

**THIS WAY OUT:** A number of suggestions have been made to avoid a U.S.-China "war over Formosa [which remains] a distinct possibility" (**CSM**, 1/12):

- Placing Formosa under UN trusteeship—unacceptable even to Chiang.
- Accepting People's China and Formosa as two separate UN-recognized states—a partition unacceptable to both sides, contrary to the Cairo declaration of Dec., 1943, that Formosa is a part of China.
- A cease-fire in the Formosa Straits initiated by UN—unacceptable and impractical, as the Indians have pointed out, unless it is part of a final solution negotiated between Washington and Peking. (A cease-fire without conditions and provision for negotiation would freeze the present position, leave U.S.-backed Chiang in "his" islands as a continuing threat to China.)
- Recognizing Peking's sovereignty over Formosa and retiring Chiang "to a safe place," as suggested by British Labour chief Clement Atlee—the only possible solution eventually, if not now.

Louisville Courier-Journal

MAROONED

**SETTLING DUST:** Looking realistically at the situation, Harsch (**CSM**, 1/15) recalled that in 1949 Secy. Dean Acheson

> ". . . surveyed the Far East wreckage of Washington post-war hopes for a strong . . . China friendly to the U.S. and announced a policy of 'letting the dust settle' before deciding what to do next."

What has emerged after the dust has been settling for five years, Harsch continued, is a strong China allied with the Soviet Union and not with the U.S., improving its relations with India, broadening its pattern of political and trade relations with countries on the Western side, recognized by almost all world capitals but Washington. Admitting that China is now a major military power, Harsch questioned whether the U.S. Seventh Fleet could hold Formosa if China threw in its full military power.

Washington, said Harsch, was "under mounting pressure from all . . . allies and from a substantial majority of UN members to come to terms with Peking." He wondered if

> ". . . Washington alone of all the great world capitals would prefer to go on acting as though the dust had not yet settled in China."

**THESE ARE THE CHILDREN OF FORMOSA**
*Must they too be sacrificed to line Chiang's pockets?*

## The Braden case

*(Continued from Page 1)*

country could be prosecuted. . . ."

Presentation of the facts of the Wade-Braden case in a forum held Jan. 25 by the Metropolitan N.Y. Branch of the Women's Intl. League for Peace & Freedom brought gasps of disbelief from most of the audience. Mrs. Marjorie Matson, Philadelphia attorney and head of WILPF's civil liberties section, who was an observer at the trial, declared that from what she had seen of it, the Kentucky Court of Appeals "must" reverse the decision. During the trial she defended the 40-year-old conservative civil liberties group against charges by government witnesses that it was a "red front" and its founder, Jane Addams, was a Communist. The Louisville branch had circulated a letter in support of the Wade family. One of the state's accusations against Braden was that he belonged to the organization, which is open only to women. Mrs. Matson said the WILPF national board had formed a fund to aid the case.

In a court action last week Judge L. R. Curtis refused to let Braden file his appeal as a pauper, which would relieve him of one of the heaviest costs of appealing—transcribing the 13-day trial record at a cost of $4,000.

Bail or defense funds may be sent to Mrs. Anne Braden, P.O. Box 1302, Louisville 1, Ky.

### Boy, what a situation!

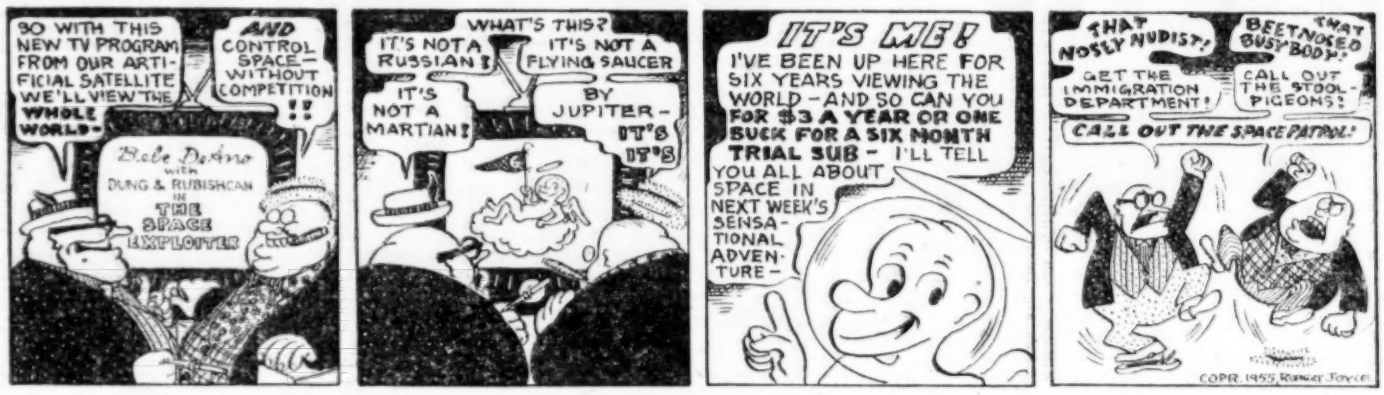
LOMBARD, Ill.

Here we go again! Belfrage to be deported and McCarthy still tolerated in the Senate. Verily "How crazy can you get?" Am enclosing check for $6.50 as follows: $1.50 for **Seeds of Destruction**; $5 towards expenses for opposing deportation.

D. D. Barta

## THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

**COMING EVENTS CAST** their shadows before, but in the case of the GUARDIAN Angel, a well-known astral character who has no shadow, these few lines are necessary to announce that our little nipper and a troupe of demi-astral acquaintances he has picked up at the cloud level will carry on as a cartoon strip in these spaces. The GUARDIAN takes no responsibility for the irreverencies expressed therein. They are strictly the work of the Angel's creator, Robert Joyce.


SO WITH THIS NEW TV PROGRAM FROM OUR ARTIFICIAL SATELLITE WE'LL VIEW THE WHOLE WORLD-
AND CONTROL SPACE—WITHOUT COMPETITION !!
Bele Demo with DUNG & RUBISHCAN IN THE SPACE EXPLOITER
WHAT'S THIS?
IT'S NOT A RUSSIAN!
IT'S NOT A FLYING SAUCER
IT'S NOT A MARTIAN!
BY JUPITER—IT'S IT'S
IT'S ME!
I'VE BEEN UP HERE FOR SIX YEARS VIEWING THE WORLD—AND SO CAN YOU FOR $3 A YEAR OR ONE BUCK FOR A SIX MONTH TRIAL SUB—I'LL TELL YOU ALL ABOUT SPACE IN NEXT WEEK'S SENSATIONAL ADVENTURE—
THAT NOSLY NUDIST!
THAT BEETNOSED BUSYBODY!
GET THE IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENT!
CALL OUT THE STOOL-PIGEONS!
CALL OUT THE SPACE PATROL!
COPR. 1955, Robert Joyce

## One will get you six

**EFFECTIVE FEB. 22**

# Fur Workers vote to join AFL Amalgamated Butchers

THE Intl. Fur & Leather Workers Union, independent since its expulsion from the CIO in 1950, last week had found a new home in the AFL's Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of N. America. Delegates to a special IFLWU convention in Atlantic City on Jan. 23 voted 292 to 18 to become a Fur & Leather Workers Dept. within the Amalgamated and subject to its constitution, but with autonomous rights and representation on the parent union's governing body. The merger will become effective Feb. 22 after ratification by referendum by a majority of IFLWU's 113 locals.

For the sake of the larger unity represented by the merger, fur union delegates made some painful concessions to the general charge that their union has been "Communist-dominated," which led to its expulsion from the CIO. Their long-time president Ben Gold, now appealing a conviction on a charge of falsely signing a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit, is barred from any office or post. (He resigned as president last October.) All paid employes of the Fur & Leather Dept. must file T-H type non-Communist affidavits with the Amalgamated. All members will be subject to an Amalgamated constitutional clause directed against "subversives." In addition, many delegates expressed concern for the full rights of IFLWU Negro members (the Amalgamated still maintains some segregated locals), but Amalgamated secy.-treas. Patrick E. Gorman pledged full protection of Negro rights.

**"START THE PARADE":** The IFLWU will abandon its own publication but is promised "adequate space" in the **Butcher Workman.** Its international treasury will be merged with the Amalgamated's, but local, council and joint board treasuries will remain untouched. During a five-year "trial" period either party to the merger agreement can terminate it.

Whatever criticism there was of the agreement, most delegates stressed the greater benefits of unity. IFLWU pres. Abe Feinglass saw this merger as the beginning of many, said it may "herald a new day for the labor movement." Amalgamated vice-pres. Harry Poole said: "Let us jointly lead the way for the rest of the labor movement in the U.S. for unity." Amalgamated pres. Earl W. Jimerson said: "We can start the parade for unity in all labor."

Although the AFL exec. council had earlier opposed the merger, Amalgamated leaders asserted their own autonomy and went ahead with it. They reported they are now discussing a possible merger with the CIO Packinghouse Workers and have an agreement with the Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters to begin a joint organizing drive on Feb. 1. Poole predicted the Amalgamated will have more than a half-million members by the time of its next convention in 1956. (The meat union now claims 265,000 members, the fur union 75,000.)

# U.S. Negroes tell Congress about some real un-American activities

By Eugene Gordon

AMERICAN NEGROES in 1930 "began to see that they were being 'betrayed' by the Reds," said the N.Y. **Times** Dec. 21, citing a House Un-American Activities Committee report. But some Negroes apparently think the "red" issue is a phoney. In the Dec. 25 Baltimore **Afro-American** J. H. Jenkins wrote from Washington:

> "We are . . . emotionally and hysterically worked up over Communism —not yet defined—to the extent that a federal prisoner can be murdered by thugs. . . . The time will soon arrive that if one wishes another murdered just call him a Communist and all is forgiven."

Pittsburgh **Courier** columnist J. A. Rogers (1/8) said he couldn't return the committee's "compliment" that Negroes were "consistently" true to their country in resisting the blandishments and treacherous promises" of the Communists:

> "What has this committee done against an un-American activity older than Communism and far more galling to Negroes, namely, jimcrow —the economic robbery of citizens based on color of skin? Nothing. And not only that. Some of the members actually owed their place in Congress to their support of this injustice. The committee can take no credit to itself for the Negro's loyalty."

Interlandi in Mobile (Ala.) Press

**"He just wants to be ready if the public school segregation issue becomes hot."**

**ON ASPIRATIONS:** The **Times** quoted the committee to the effect that "the Communist party has been one of the greatest deterrents to recognition and realization of the legitimate aspirations of he American Negro." On the same page is printed this AP report on what anti-Communists are doing to speed these legitimate aspirations:

> "Mississippi voters approved by apparently more than two to one a constitutional amendment designed to continue school segregation. . . . The amendment, similar to those approved by Georgia and S. Carolina, would give the Legislature standby authority to abolish the public school system and subsidize private schools to continue separate Negro and white schools. . . . The [Legal Educational Advisory] Committee contends the amendment is needed now as a weapon hanging over Negroes' heads as a threat."

There are 2,200,000 people in Mississippi; 200,000 voted.

### White Supremacy

THE Mississippi Baptist Convention at Wiggins, representing "300 old-line missionary churches," declared the Supreme Court's anti-jimcrow public school decision "unbiblical" and "socialistic." At Indianola an ex-football star became secretary of Mississippi's "Citizens Councils," groups pledged to preserve white supremacy. He is Robert B. Patterson, who now runs a 1,585-acre plantation with 35 Negro tenant families. He said his white-supremacy councils will soon operate in every county.

Patterson's strategy differs from Bryant W. Bowles' "Natl. Assn. for Advancement of White People." In Delaware, Bowles urged boycotting white merchants who supported the court ruling; Patterson would boycott Negroes. He said: "We won't gin their cotton; we won't allow them credit; we'll move them out of their rented houses."

**COUNTER BOYCOTT:** The Mississippi NAACP announced plans to give the national office the names of all boss planters and merchants who planned to use the boycott. The national office will check any violation of federal law. NAACP branches will then receive copies of the names for a

". . . rigid boycott of the products or services sold by companies [in any way connected to the councils] inside or outside of Mississippi."

NAACP board chairman Dr. Channing H. Tobias wired the President:

> "Negro leadership in Mississippi is being subjected to undisguised economic intimidation admittedly designed to curb civil rights and particularly to discourage registration and voting and to force abandonment of efforts to secure peaceful compliance with the May 17 ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court outlawing racial segregation in public schools."

He asked the President to intervene and called for a conference "for presentation of factual evidence and a full discussion of this new threat."

To help shore up its members—Negro home-owners, farmers, professional and business men—threatened with bankruptcy by the white supremacists, the NAACP deposited $20,000 of its reserve fund in Memphis' Negro-owned Tri-State Bank and is trying to get fraternal orders, insurance companies, businesses and individuals to follow suit. Michigan's new Negro Rep. Charles Diggs Jr. deposited $10,000.

**"COMMUNIST OBJECTIVE":** Alabama State Sen. Walter Givhan told 400 white supremacists gathered to set up councils like Mississippi's that NAACP exec. secy. Walter White was a "mulatto seeking to raise his own social standing." Givhan said he had evidence to prove it was "a Communist objective" to elect a Negro U.S. Vice President. He shouted: "This is a white man's country! It has always been and always will be!"

Give This Paper To A Friend Keep It Moving!

# *On the sunny side of Miami*

GREAT NUMBER of the upper income crowd are to be found in Florida. They have beautiful homes in the choicest locations.

Many of these fortunate men and women have, as a hobby, the playing of the stock market. They are to be found in considerable numbers in the stock brokerage offices that abound in Florida.

And if you were to sit beside some of these idle rich in these offices, as I have done on occasion, and listen to their conversation you would hear some of the most bitter and vicious anti-labor sentiments ever uttered anywhere.

The coupon clippers that I have listened to in several Florida cities fairly froth at the mouth when they discuss organized labor. They appear against everything that does not directly promote their own interests and welfare. They are as intolerant on racial matters as the most rabid Ku Kluxer.

I am not only utterly amazed, but frightened as I listen to these people, because I realize their enormous power. I know that more and more of the wealth of this country is being centered in the south and that this vast wealth is being used increasingly to mislead the public, to control teachers and teaching, to breed dissension and hatreds, to attack basic civil liberties and to prevent the masses of people from bettering their economic status. To further this vicious program, Gerald L. K. Smith, Joe McCarthy and similar demagogues are given lavish support.

An enormous propaganda campaign is underway in this country to direct our attention and hatreds toward Soviet Russia. There are strong reasons to believe, however, that the real threat to our stability and progress comes from within and not from without.

It comes from a group of people who are still living in the feudal age and who are determined to prevent at any cost needed changes and progress. It's time the American people opened their eyes to the true situation that confronts them.

From a column by Charles C. Lockwood in the **Detroit East Sider,** Jan. 13.

"WE WILL NEVER GIVE UP—THE UNION HAS NEVER BEEN MORE UNIFIED." THE KOHLER PICKET LINE.

*IT'S COSTING THE COMPANY $46,000 A DAY*

# Union holds firm as Kohler strike enters 11th month

By Lawrence Emery

TO Herbert V. Kohler, president of the Kohler Co. of Kohler, Wis., makers of bathroom fixtures, nothing changes. Twenty years ago, on July 27, 1934, a picket-line at the Kohler plant was fired upon; two men were killed, 47 persons wounded, hundreds tear-gassed. Last week a Congressional probe was shaping up over labor fears that there might be a repetition of Kohler violence in a current strike that is now in its tenth month.

The 1934 gunfire not only killed and maimed; it broke both the strike and the AFL union in the plant. From then on, with a company union, Kohler ran his factory just as he ran the "model" village the company had built for its workers. In the village they had neat little houses, but they were permitted to make few if any decisions of their own on how to live their lives. Mr. Kohler became known as the Bathtub Baron.

**THE ARSENAL:** In the summer of 1952, after 18 years of feudal rule, the plant was organized by the CIO United Auto Workers and Local 833 was certified as the workers' bargaining agent; a one-year contract containing minimum demands was signed. When bargaining time came around again, the union insisted on standard conditions: a 20c-an-hour wage increase, seniority rights, hospital insurance, pensions, arbitration, and a union shop. The company offered a 3c increase, refused to consider a union shop. On April 5, 1954, the Kohler workers struck.

Almost immediately rumors circulated that the company was building up an arsenal inside the plant. On May 22 Kohler Village police chief Walter Capelle confiscated from a company official eight cartons of tear-gas shells, a box containing two riot guns and two boxes marked "small arms ammunition." A week later the Sheboygan County sheriff confiscated the material from the police chief. Shipping tags on it showed the company had received it three days after the strike began from the Federal Laboratories, Inc., at Saltsburg, Pa. The value was listed at $1,000.

**"WE'LL RIDE IT OUT":** From then on the dispute grew in bitterness. The Wisconsin Employment Relations Board ordered a ban on mass picketing, limited the line to 25. The company recruited strikebreakers wherever it could and village police protected their entry to the plant. Several pickets were arrested and charged with "unlawful assemblage." The company refused to comply with NLRB orders. In mid-August the union cut its wage demands in half and indicated it would settle for a modified union shop, but the company refused to budge on any kind of union security. Said company spokesman Lyman Conger:

> "We'll ride it out. Free choice of representation among our employes is a vital principle here. That is the only issue and we'll settle it now. We would rather have a strike to the end than a new strike every year."

Kohler himself put it on a higher level; to him the destiny of the nation itself was at stake:

> "We are unalterably opposed to compulsory unionism. Freedom of choice in representation must be sustained, and the chance for the individual to speak for himself must be recovered if we are not to become a faceless and rigidly classed people."

But Local 833 president Allan Graskamp was confident:

> "We will never give up. The union has never been more unified. We have 2,000 men of the 3,500-member bargaining unit on our relief rolls, but no one is getting hurt so badly they want to give up."

**ENTER UNCLE:** The UAW itself is reportedly contributing $100,000 a week for relief; strikers get food allotments, rent money when needed to prevent eviction, and cash benefits. Other unions, AFL and independent, are making regular contributions said to have totaled $210,335 by December.

Most Wisconsin labor is united in the strikers' support. Four Sheboygan locals of the independent United Electrical Workers, expelled from the CIO in 1950, have donated more than $12,000 to the strike fund. On the other hand, Kohler is reported to have told a U. S. District Court in Milwaukee that his company is losing $46,000 a day.

Kohler products have largely disappeared from the market since the strike began and it seemed evident that the company could not hold out indefinitely even by taking advantage of tax loopholes to write off most of its loss. But then the U.S. government, with implied approval of Kohler tactics, awarded the company a $2,000,000 defense contract. The Local promptly requested President Eisenhower to appoint a "special fact-finding board" to look into the strike, asked that the defense contract be canceled "until a fair contract has been signed by this company." Later the Local collected 7,500 Sheboygan County signatures on petitions protesting the contract award.

**THE QUIZ:** When the new Congress convened, Local leaders went to Washington and conferred with Sen. James E. Murray (D-Mont.), new chairman of the Senate Labor Committee. Murray promptly wired Kohler that if the union's charges "have substance," then he believes the committee "will most certainly want to investigate the situation at Kohler." He asked for an immediate reply to these four questions:

- "What quantities and types of industrial munitions, if any, are or have been stored on the company premises at any time since the beginning of the current dispute . . . ?
- "What is your company's policy with respect to the intended use of any such industrial munitions, including tear gas, during the dispute?
- "If the Kohler Co. is losing $46,000 a day in expenses because of the strike . . . what if any part of this $13,000,000 in strike costs will your company attempt to recapture under the carry-back, carry-forward provisions of the tax law?
- "Why have you and other company officials rejected efforts to negotiate an agreement with the employes' recognized collective bargaining agent, including the proposal to submit the dispute to arbitration made by Gov. Walter J. Kohler?" [The Governor is Herbert Kohler's nephew].

**THE MISSING LETTER:** Prodded by this, Kohler sent to all Congressmen a kit of documents bearing on the company's side of the dispute; Rep. Clare Hoffman (R-Mich.) promptly read them into the Congressional Record.

But one document was missing from the kit. Three day later it was read into the Record by Rep. Clement J. Zablocki (D-Wis.); it was a letter from Gov. Kohler dated July 8, 1954, urging arbitration of the strike—a proposal accepted by the union but rejected by the company. Zablocki said the Kohler Co., by withholding this letter, "appears to have imposed on the credulity" of Congressmen by offering "an incomplete and therefore somewhat distorted picture" of the strike.

There the matter stood last week. For Herbert Kohler, time had been turned back; it looked as though it would take Congressional action to bring him up to date.

*THE 14TH AMENDMENT VIOLATED*

# NAACP files suit to end jimcrow in 16,000-home Levittown in Penna.

THE FIRM of Levitt & Sons, Inc., "world's largest builder of private homes," tags each of its enterprises "Levittown" and proceeds to develop it with "credit, guarantee, insurance, approval and assistance of the federal government." It then hangs out invisible but effective 'No Negroes Admitted" signs.

The Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People on Jan. 13 filed suit in E. Pennsylvania's U.S. District Court on behalf of six Negro war veterans jimcrowed from Bucks County's new 16,000-home Levittown. Though not naming the Long Island (N.Y.) Levittown, the suit was nevertheless aimed at it too. It made the following points:

- Levittown is, in reality, a town, and Levitt's barring persons because of race or color violates the 14th Amendment and, in Pennsylvania, the statutes of the Commonwealth.
- Owing to Levitt's monopolizing all new construction in Levittown, his enterprise is, in effect, a public utility and should therefore be restrained from anti-Negro policy and practices.

**COULD BE HISTORIC:** The NAACP at the same time sued to restrain Federal Housing Authority agents in Philadelphia from discriminating against Negroes. This action was brought on behalf of Negroes who had been refused apartments in FHA mortgaged-insured developments.

FHA and Housing and Home Finance Agency officials, after two years of negotiation with the NAACP, have not budged Levitt from his jimcrow policy, so officers of these agencies also were named in the suit against Levitt. The Baltimore **Afro-American** (1/22) said that if the Levitt case is won it will be

> ". . . as historic as and possibly even more far-reaching than the May 17 school decision, inasmuch as it will in one blow sound the doom of the Harlems and the all-colored ghettos in the nation which begin and end with housing discrimination."

The paper reminded its readers that the Levitts "have been notorious in their anti-colored housing policies" by insisting that interracial housing was bad for business. The **Afro** added:

> "The Levitt corporation was the prime mover in the building of the 'city of tomorrow,' as the fast-developing Delaware Valley is now being called and into which U.S. Steel has thrown more than $400,000,000."

N.Y. Amsterdam News

"Where there's 'swill' there's a way."

WILL FOREIGN INVESTMENT END HUNGER OR EXPLOIT IT?

# The 'underdeveloped countries' of the 'free world' — and what is really happening to their people

By Tabitha Petran

VISIONS of a "new era" of limitless prosperity—surpassing the dreams of 1928—today preoccupy much of the business press. Its cornerstone is to be expansion of American business overseas or, as **Business Week** (1/1) put it, "capital investment pouring into areas of the world hitherto largely ignored." This export of capital will mean "living standards rising throughout the free world" (**BW**); hence, it is claimed, it will enable the U.S. to win the "competitive co-existence" phase of the cold war against the socialist world.

It is a rosy picture; but it ignores the fact that—under this system of foreign investment—living standards in the "free world's" undeveloped countries are steadily falling. On the eve of World War II, 38.6% of the world's population subsisted in a permanent state of hunger. By 1951 the number had risen to 59.5%—1½ billion human beings[1]. In the past three years living standards in these areas fell further.[2]

**THE MAN-MADE PLAGUE:** Describing the terrible toll that hunger is taking of the world's people—in Latin America where there is "prevailing starvation," in Africa, India, other parts of Asia—Josue de Castro, former Exec. Council Chairman of the UN Food & Agriculture Organization, showed that hunger "is a man-made plague," "a product of the colonial system." He wrote":

> "Hunger has been chiefly created by the inhuman exploitation of colonial riches, by the latifundia and one-crop culture which lay waste the colony, so that the exploiting country can take too cheaply the raw materials its prosperous industrial economy requires."

Western capitals talk of the problems of undeveloped areas solely in terms of money, finance, their alleged need for foreign capital. Governments of undeveloped countries, echoing this approach, often plead for foreign investment. The argument may seem convincing; how, it may be asked, can such poor countries divert any of their productive activity from the demands of immediate consumption to the making of capital goods—tools, machines, transport, plants, equipment, etc.?

**THE REAL ANSWER:** But history is teaching that the answer lies not in money but in the social relations behind it. Foreign investment for profit strangles opportunities for economic development. But undeveloped countries do have resources with which to carry out economic development—without foreign capital and without sacrificing consumption—if the people so decide.

Their major unused—and wasted—resource is surplus agricultural labor; labor that can be withdrawn from the land without reducing agricultural output. This is called "disguised unemployment," because it is impossible to point to any one person as unemployed. It is rather that a number of people live on the land but contribute virtually nothing to output.

In the undeveloped countries of the Middle and Far East, ⅔ to 4/5 of the total labor force works on the land. Of this farm population an estimated 15 to 30% (in Egypt 40 to 50%) constitute "disguised unemployment" or surplus labor. If this labor is removed from the land, it can be put to work building roads, railroads, dams, factories, etc., and whatever it produces will be a contribution to real national income. If there are undeveloped countries without such surplus labor—as there may be in Latin America—improved agricultural techniques such as crop rotation and insect-disease control, which do not require much capital, will release the necessary manpower. The financing of such capital projects boils down to: 1) how the labor is to be fed; 2) how it is to be equipped with tools.

**DISTRIBUTION & TOOLS:** Productive workers on the land fed this labor before, and can continue to do so. There is no need in principle for either group to tighten its belt. Farm output has not been reduced; in fact the way has been cleared to increasing it since, experts are agreed[4], removal of surplus labor is a precondition to technical progress. The problem becomes one of equitable distribution of the food between the two groups. (Requisitioning, taxation in kind, etc., are some of the measures socialist states have used to insure this.)

THE CUP RUNNETH NOT OVER
*Hunger: the creation of "exploitation of colonial riches"*

Tools are not needed to the same degree as in advanced economies. Complicated labor-saving machinery is apt, at this stage, to be uneconomic, involving as it does need for training, fuels, etc. Machinery would, of course, be helpful; but if, owing to the way advanced capitalist countries operate, it is not to be had, simple tools can be made by hand. China's vast flood-control project on the Huai River was built by millions of workers largely using primitive hand-made tools.

**TASKS FOR THE PEOPLE:** This approach to economic development, which looks to surplus farm labor and improved farm methods to provide the capital necessary for indutrialization, obviously involves drastic changes in social relations. The changes can be made only if the people themselves are determined to make them:

## • Basic land reform

To destroy feudal relations on the land, the power of the big landowners, the one-crop system developed by foreign capital; to transform small peasant economy into agricultural industry—and so substantially increase farm output—there must be basic land reform. In China by 1952, 116 million acres had been distributed to 300 million peasants; feudal taxes had been abolished; mutual aid teams and cooperatives organized; peasants supplied with fertilizers, seed, insecticides, tools, etc.; drainage and irrigation projects were under way or completed.

**BW** (7/24), conceding that China's industrialization drive would make it "the greatest industrial power in Asia," said the capital for it was being taken "out of the hides of the peasants." The peasants' output is furnishing the capital—but because of land and other reforms (elimination of famine, illiteracy, provision of medical care) they are better off today than ever before and standards are rising.

## • Emancipation from foreign capital

The difficulties encountered by the five-year (1951-56) development program of India, whose economy remains largely dominated by British capital, show how necessary this emancipation is. Barely 3 million acres have been distributed to the peasants; on top of "disguised unemployment," some 30 million landless farm laborers are unemployed 50 to 80% of the time; capital is lacking for industrialization projects. Unemployment is over 15% in the cities.

Foreign capital drains the lifeblood of undeveloped countries in the form of profits and interest. At the same time, it works to limit the development of their internal markets since: 1) it makes profits out of, hence perpetuates, primitive forms of production; 2) it enjoys special rights, preferences, monopolies (it is always stronger, hence can impose these conditions) which block indigenous industrial development; 3) it denies such industry the tariff protection necessary for its development (history shows that a tariff-protected internal market has been an important device for political unification and emergence of the modern state); 4) it creates privileged markets for the foreign interests.

Hence foreign capital prevents a strong, indigenous capitalism from developing—an indigenous capitalist class rooted in intensive industrialization and independent of foreign capitalism. It tends rather to ally itself with feudal landowners and merchants, strengthening the forces holding back economic development. The irony of this is that foreign capitalists, in preventing this development, may be robbing the people of the undeveloped country of the alternative of a capitalist—rather than a socialist—revolution to effect industrialization. That is, the indigenous capitalists may well prove—as happened in China—too weak and dependent on foreign capital to carry through a capitalist revolution.

## • Industrialization

On the basis of land reform and elimination of foreign control, undeveloped countries can work to expand their internal markets, which means industrialization. That is, the internal market grows on the basis of greater productivity. This is accomplished by substituting machines for manpower.

A higher form of development is reached with the capacity to make machines and the machines that make machines. It was the U.S.S.R.'s concentration on this machine-building capacity in its planned economic development which gave it the power to make its own decisions. It is this capacity that is decisive to national independence and makes possible the continual expansion of industrialization.

**THE THROTTLE:** Western policy is directed to preventing undeveloped countries from developing this machine-building capacity. Every U.S. policy statement and study of the question insists undeveloped countries must concentrate on producing raw materials. In **Foreign Affairs** (1/55) Stacy May, Rockefeller spokesman, attempts to prove this is beneficial for them.

U.S. trade and other relations with undeveloped countries are geared to insuring this concentration on raw materials. It is a prime objective of the embargo on East-West trade. A real problem is created for the economic royalists by the fact that socialist policy is to expand machine-building capacity in its own countries and to help undeveloped countries do the same. Socialist countries offer undeveloped countries long-term trade agreements under which they supply machinery and capital goods, guarantee a market for raw materials at fixed prices, sometimes grant industrial credits, technical aid.

Dependent as they are on Western capital, many governments of undeveloped countries are unable to defy the U.S. embargo to take advantage of these offers. Removal of the embargo would be the most useful means of helping undeveloped countries to develop—as several such countries told UN last fall.

**"ONE LITTLE ORDER":** Two hundred years ago, the English political economist Adam Smith[5] described an earlier phase of today's foreign investment system as a "mean and malignant" system which

> ". . . to promote the little interest of one little order of men in one country . . . hurts the interest of all other orders of men in that country and of all men in all other countries."

For Washington, the "competitive co-existence" phase of the cold war spells a new and greater effort to clamp this "mean and malignant" system on the peoples of the world. If the American people, who are also its victims, are not to be a party to it, they must understand this fact.

1 UN Preliminary Report on World Social Situation, 1952.
2 UN World Economic Report, 1953.
3 Geography of Hunger (Little, Brown, 1952).
4 UN Measures for Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries.
5 The Wealth of Nations.

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THE VERDICT WAS "GUILTY"

# What the government's trying to do in the case of Claude Lightfoot

CLAUDE M. LIGHTFOOT, exec. secy. of the Illinois Communist Party, was arrested last June 26, charged under Sec. 2 of the Smith Act with membership in a "society . . of persons who teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the U.S. government by force and violence as speedily as circumstances would permit" and that he knew it. His $50,000 bail was reduced to $30,000 only after strenuous protests. His trial began on Jan. 10 in the U.S. Dist. Court, Chicago, before Judge Philip L. Sullivan. It ended with a verdict of guilty, on Jan. 26. Judge Sullivan took under advisement defense motion for a new trial.

Both the defense and the Chicago press consider the trial a test whether U.S. citizens can be imprisoned and fined for belonging to political parties. Lightfoot, if convicted, would face a maximum of ten years and $10,000 fine for membership in a political organization legal since its founding in 1919. Maximum for Smith Act victims convicted of "conspiring to teach and advocate" has been five years and $10,000. No Smith Act indictment has yet alleged any criminal act.

The Chicago Herald-American (1/20), which has close contact with the Justice Dept., said the Dept. was

> ". . . anxious to test this [membership] clause as a possible potent weapon against certain top Communist leaders soon to be released singly after serving prison terms for conspiracy. If these could be rearrested individually and tried one at a time under the Smith Act section, the government would be in a fair way to keep the Red leaders confined indefinitely."

**DOUBLE JEOPARDY:** Though indicted under both sections, the first victims were not tried under Sec. 2; thus they went to prison in 1949 with the Sec. 2 indictment hanging over them. "If the prosecution can obtain a speedy conviction in the Lightfoot case before they are released," declared his Defense Committee, "the way is cleared for

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
*The test case*

pressing the 'membership' charges." CP leaders Eugene Dennis, John Gates, Jack Stachel, John Williamson and Carl Winter could be grabbed when they stepped from prison around March 1 and—in spite of the 5th Amendment (". . . Nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb. . . .")—be made to serve two sentences for the same alleged crime.

If Lightfoot was convicted and "membership" made a crime, "guilt by association," the Committee pointed out, would be sanctioned in U.S. law; and following the Communist Control Act (1954) definitions of "membership," hundreds of thousands could be rounded up for concentration camps. Three elements of the Act's definition of membership embrace:

- Anyone who has made "financial contribution . . . in any form";
- Anyone who has "conferred with officers or members";
- Anyone who has "advised, counselled, or in any way imparted information, suggestions, recommendations to officers or members of the organization or to anyone else in behalf of the objectives of the organization."

**THE TEST:** A "Communist" organization could be any which an informer pointed at; membership would include anyone the informer testified belonged to it. Even Foley Sq. Smith Act Judge Harold Medina has declared it to be "utterly un-American procedure to have some blanket provisions applicable to whole groups, irrespective of what an individual has done." The Lightfoot Defense Committee (189 W. Madison St., Rm. 1102, Chicago 1, Ill.) has just issued **The Case of Claude Lightfoot,** 17 pages of fact and argument to show what led to that which Judge Medina fears and to prove his fears justified.

Lightfoot was the first arrested and tried under Sec. 2; arrests of Martha Stone Asher in New Jersey; Junius Scales in N. Carolina, and Albert Blumberg in N.Y. followed. Scales' trial is scheduled for April 11. Though Judge Sullivan did not permit defense testimony relating to Negro persecution, Lightfoot's role as a fighter against hoodlum attacks on Negro homes in Cicero, Fernwood, Park Manor, Trumbull Park and Airport did come out. His defense implies that his participation in these struggles answers the question why he was chosen in this test case.

The Negro press sees significance in the fact that prosecutor U.S. Asst. Atty. James B. Parsons and three jurors were Negroes.

STANLEY EVANS

# A courageous vicar honored in London

WHEN the Rev. Stanley G. Evans of London, England, published last year his pamphlet **The Rosenberg Case: The Facts,** Americans who fought for the lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were warmly reminded of one of their staunchest overseas allies in that campaign. With the fight to vindicate the Rosenbergs and get Morton Sobell out of Alcatraz still to be won, Evans wrote: "Ethel and Julius Rosenberg died . . . but their story will not die. . . . The struggle that centred on their lives for so long goes on, and must go on. It merely takes new forms."

This month the world-wide esteem of progressives for the militant British clergyman—who is a vice-pres. of the Society of Socialist Clergy, an exec. member of the Christian Peace Group and a vice-pres. of the British-Soviet Friendship Society—was demonstrated when he was inducted as vicar of Holy Trinity Church, Dalston, London. The induction, performed by the Bishop of Stepney and the Archdeacon of Hackney, was attended by some 40 clergy—said to be an unprecedented number at such a ceremony in the Church of England. Among them were the Dean of Canterbury; Rev. Dr. C. E. Douglas, a leading figure in the promotion of inter-church relations; and Rev. N. Kykkotis, chairman of the London organization of Cypriots (Cyprus). Others attending were:

Labour MP Tom Driberg, Prof. H. Levy of the Imperial College of Science, Cine-Technicians Union secy. Elvin and other union officials; representatives of the Soviet, Bulgarian and other embassies; representatives of the British-Polish Society, the Caribbean Labor Congress and similar bodies; a group of veteran former members of the American IWW; and the Mayor and Mayoress of Hackney wearing chains of office and accompanied by a liveried mace-bearer.

Senders of congratulations included:

Metropolitan Nikolai, Archbishop of Moscow; the Bishop of Canberra, Australia; Patriarch Justinian, head of the Rumanian Orthodox Church; Bishops Bereszky (Reformed Church) and Verto (Lutheran), Hungary; Right Rev. Dr. M. Novak, Bishop of Prague; the Abbe Boulier, French Catholic priest famous for his work for peace; Rev. Abbe Martin, Belgian catholic priest and worker for church union; Rev. Claude C. Williams of Helena, Ala.; Gerlad Goetting, Berlin, leader of the German Christian Democratic Union; Cedric Belfrage, editor of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

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## CALENDAR

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**Los Angeles**

Testimonial Dinner Honoring
JACK BERMAN
6th year Exec. Vice Chairman, IPP
Fri., Feb. 4, 7:30 p.m., at the Yet Quong Low restaurant, 337 E. 1st St. Tickets $3.50, available from any IPP club or call Mrs. Mollie Gosman, NO 2-5949.

**Van Nuys, Calif.**

SCOTT NEARING speaks on "THE URGENCY OF PEACE" Sun., Feb. 6, 8 p.m. Valley Unitarian-Universalist Church, 14933 Victory Blvd., Van Nuys.

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SEQUOIA SCHOOL announces registration Feb. 7 for term beginning Feb. 14. Classes in writing, theatre, anthropology, philosophy, etc. Instructors Thomas McGrath, Dr. Richard Slobodin, Janet Stevenson, others. Information: write 2714 Marsh St. Phone NO 1-1590.

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THE ATOM SPY HOAX

by William A. Reuben

512 pp.; $3.75 — Publication date March 5

This is an author's expression of deep thanks (and apologies, if you will) to the many patient GUARDIAN readers whose advance subscriptions to my book have made publication possible. After more than three years, THE ATOM SPY HOAX has finally been completed and copies are going out as fast as I can mail them to the people whose advance orders expressed determination that my book must be published.

THE ATOM SPY HOAX is the first book to examine the basic premise of the Cold War: the impression created in the public mind that the "secret" of the atom bomb was stolen for Russia as a result of a vast espionage set-up in the West. The first comprehensive account of the famous "spy" hunts of the past decade. This book is the first to examine critically the statements of all those who "confessed" they were Russian agents, to answer the question, not why they spied, but whether they did.

**The book will sell for $3.75. However, until publication date we can still offer copies to GUARDIAN readers at the special pre-publication price of only $3.**

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DESPITE PERSECUTION

# 2d drive planned to get Joe out

JOE McCARTHY has been censured by the U. S. Senate, but in Wisconsin the Joe-Must-Go Club, which collected 335,000 signatures in a grassroots movement to recall him, is still fighting persecution from local McCarthyites. The campaign fell several thousand signatures short of the number needed for a recall vote, but was influential in discrediting the Senator nationally. The club plans to launch a second recall petition shortly which will need only 239,000 names.

On Dec. 31, Circuit Judge Bruce Beilfuss fined the club $4,200 on 21 counts of violating the state corrupt practices act, on the technicality that as a corporation it could not engage in a political act. Sauk County weekly editor Leroy Gore, founder of the movement, and four other officers of the club will be tried as individuals Feb. 5. Charges are that by being members of the corporation, each violated the law. Conviction would mean loss of citizenship rights, including the right to vote and hold public office.

The charges were brought by former Sauk County district attorney and McCarthy supporter Harlan Kelley, who was defeated for re-election last November. The same vote named Ivan Van Nestigen, one of the club's directors now facing trial, to represent Madison, the capital city, in the State Assembly. Since the law went into effect two generations ago, more than two dozen political corporations have functioned unrestrictedly in the state.

LEROY GORE
*One day he got mad*

THE COST OF PROTEST: A resolution by the Sauk County Fedn. of Labor has urged the new district attorney, James Seering, to drop the charges. The resolution stated:

> "The only 'crime' attributed to the Joe-Must-Go Club was the fact that they used the American right to petition in an effort to rid the U. S. Senate of the shameful and despicable presence of Wisconsin's junior senator."

Since Gore, a lifetime Republican, "got mad" ten months ago and wrote the editorial in his Sauk-Prairie Star that sparked the recall movement, he has been threatened, his personal property damaged, his nine-year-old daughter moved from home with a heart condition which developed as a result.

The club's records were subpenaed, active workers lost their jobs, Gore was forced to testify in secret hearings without attorneys or other witnesses, and the club has spent over $2,000 in legal fees to defend itself.

A legal defense fund aiming to raise $5,000 for an appeal to the state Supreme Court has been formed under the leadership of Wisconsin writer August Derleth. Address: Leroy Gore Defense Fund, 926 N. Jackson St., Milwaukee 2, Wis.

## *L. A. dinner Feb. 4 for Jack Berman*

JACK BERMAN, exec. vice-chairman of California's Independent Progressive Party, will be honored at a testimonial dinner Friday, Feb. 4, at the Yet Quong Low restaurant, 337 E. First St., Los Angeles.

Berman, who has served as the executive officer of the IPP since October, 1949, will receive the tribute of scores of community leaders who have worked with him. Among them will be Robert W. Kenney, former State Attorney General; Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, president of the Women for Legislative Action; Al Caplan, President of Local 26, Intl. Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union; Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, IPP's Vice-Presidential candidate in 1952 and former publisher of the California Eagle; Reuben W. Borough, former Commissioner of the City Board of Public Works; and Horace V. Alexander, state chairman of the IPP. Active members of the 35 IPP clubs in S. Calif. will also be present.

Tickets are $3.50 per person and obtainable from Mrs. Mollie Gosman, NO 2-5949, or at any IPP club.


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**NEWS ITEM:** Prison Director J. V. Bennett has written Mrs. Sobell that "considerable thought" is being given to her husband's transfer. Mr. Bennett, who had never written Mrs. Sobell before, said President Eisenhower had asked him to write to her. . . . Letters urging transfer have been pouring into Bennett's office, many from prominent Americans. **If thousands more of such letters are written, Morton Sobell's transfer can be won.**

**NEWS ITEM:** The authorities have given permsision for the Sobell children, Mark, who is 5, and Sydney, 15, to visit their father in Alcatraz for the first time. No children have visited Alcatraz in the past. . . . **Enough letters to Mr. Bennett can get Morton Sobell transferred to a prison where his children can visit him regularly while the fight for a new trial is being pressed.**

**NEWS ITEM:** Prominent Canadian columnist J. V. McAree, writing in the Toronto Globe and Mail, one of Canada's leading papers, said he favored Sobell's transfer. He wrote the column after someone had brought him the facts on the case. . . . **How many more columnists will tell the truth if we take the time to give them the facts?**

Some 40 Sobell committees are working throughout the country. . . . Thousands of pamphlets have been circulated. . . . Thousands of community leaders have been seen. . . . Ads have been in major newspapers. . . . Public meetings have been held. More is needed, more of everything, until Morton Sobell is free, until the truth about the Rosenbergs is known, because we know what this victory will mean for our country.

**These next months are crucial for swelling the gains that have been made. NOW IS THE TIME for you to write to Mr. Bennett, get others to write, and provide the dollars needed to move forward.**

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**Will you do two things immediately?**

1. **Slip a ONE DOLLAR bill in an envelope and mail to the SOBELL COMMITTEE, 1050 Sixth Av., New York 18, N. Y.**
2. **Write a letter urging transfer to Mr. J. V. Bennett, Director of Prisons, Justice Department, Washington, D. C.**

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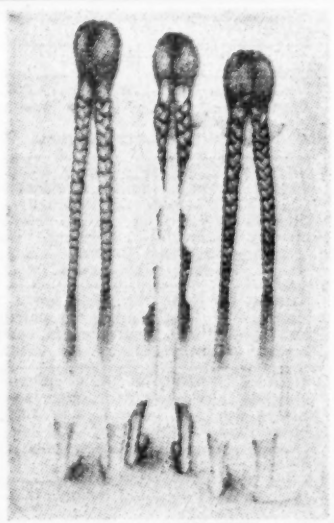

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CLUB CINEMA, 420 Sixth Av. (nr. 9 St.) "THE ROOSEVELT STORY" —Jan. 28-30. This moving documentary is shown in memory of a great President, born Jan. 30, 1882 died April 12, 1945. It recreates vividly the great issues fought for in his administration. Showings: 8:30 and 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. Adm: Members, $1; non-members $1.25. Next week: Winter Sports and Playgrounds.

Hear first hand report "What's Happening in China," by Maud Russell, publisher FAR EAST REPORTER, 26 years with YWCA, China. Sun., Jan. 30, 8:15 p.m., ALP, 220 W. 80th St. Cont: 50c.

The New Carl Ditton Branch of the Natl. Assoc of Negro Musicians, Inc., presents their NEGRO HISTORY WEEK CONCERT & TEA, "Negroes in Grand Opera, 1900-1955." Sun., Feb. 13 4 p.m., Hotel Capitol, 51st St. & 8th Av. Sub. $1.50. For tickets: Monte Norris, act. dir., N.A.N.M., Inc., 268 E. 4th St., New York City

GRAND CONCERT featuring PAUL DRAPER, CELIA ADLER, WILLIAM MARSHALL, MARTHA SCHLAMME and Youth Chorus of Bronx & Peretz Mittel-Shuln. Sat., Feb. 5. 8:30 p.m., B'klyn Academy of Music. Tickets: $1.15, $1.80, $2.50, obtainable at B'klyn Comm. for Jewish Education, 1534 St. Johns Pl., B'klyn, N. Y.

SUNDAY FORUM: "Motorama: The Impact of the Automobile on American Life—from Morals to Economics." Speaker: David Goldway. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. Jan. 30, 8 p.m. $1.

CHILDREN'S HOOTENANNY. Don't miss special program of songs from many nations, Sat., Jan. 29, 2:30. Singing, games, refreshments. People's Artists Studio 5, 124 W. 21st St. Admission: 75c.

PUBLIC MEETING—"What's Ahead for American Labor," Farrell Dobbs, speaker. Also playing of record "The Investigator." Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. sharp, Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av. Contribution: 50c. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party.

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CASE OF DUDLEY STRAUS

# College inquisition moves to Queens for first time

By Elmer Bendiner

THREE days before Christmas Queens College English teacher Dudley Straus looked at an inquisitor from the Board of Higher Education and said: "I will not answer that question. I think that all of the traditions of my profession demand some support from me."

When his last class was over on the last day of the semester, Jan. 14, Straus received word of his suspension. His students had known he was under fire and talked with him about it after class. Some were angry, others tearful.

Timing of the suspension was strategic. Classes will not open again until February 9. There will be no chance of strong student reaction until then. The student weekly **Crown** will not come out until Feb. 15. There is a lull at the college but the students are unlikely to forget the timing: it leaves their final grades up to a teacher who does not know them.

**PHANTOM CHARGES:** Straus had taught English at Queens since 1938 except for two years' service with the army. His record was unchallenged until last week's charges of "neglect of duty" and "conduct unbecoming a member of the staff."

Queens newspapers played up the charges but there was no bill of particluars. When Straus and his attorney Milton Friedman asked for one special counsel for the inquiry, Michael Castaldi said: "We are not, nor are we required to under the law, confronting you with or preferring charges at this point against you."

The committee investigating, presumably without charges, was the "Special Committee of the Board of Higher Education on Section 903 of the City Charter, the Feinberg Law and Related Matters." (The "related matters" seemed to be a legal device for ranging far beyond all existing statutes for school inquisitions.)

**THE NEW TECHNIQUE:** Castaldi, the inquisitor confronting Straus, was corporation counsel under Mayor Impellitteri, a political wheel in the machine of Queens boss James Roe. When Mayor Wagner took office he allegedly swept his former foes from the field but swept Castaldi into a cozy corner.

Up to now college teachers have been simply fired for using the Fifth Amendment. In his annual report Castaldi boasted that he had taken the jobs of 18 teachers in city colleges and that at least 27 others were on his list.

Castaldi is now revising his techniques for hunting college-grade witches. His objective is to turn them into informers. The technique had its trial run with three professors at Hunter College. In that case each testified he had been a member of the Communist Party and had resigned. Each failed to turn informer and each was dismissed. Their appeals are pending.

**FEINBERG THEN AND NOW:** Straus is the fourth victim of the new hunt, the first at Queens. He made it plain from the start he regarded the scope of the inquiry limited by the Feinberg Law. That law was designed to dismiss those teachers currently members of the CP, but expressly ruled out penalties for those who had been members before the law's passage. It went into effect Sept. 24, 1953, for all those who might wish to resign from the CP.

When it was enacted, teachers around the country viewed it as a monstrous invasion of their rights. Since then the witch-hunting has gone so fast and so far that inquisitors regard the law as a brake. Straus said he would answer all questions dealing with events since the effective date of the law, Sept. 24, 1953. He said he was not then and had not been since a CP member. Again and again Castildi pressed him to answer questions about his associations, beliefs, friends before that date. When he protested, Castaldi said:

"I do not think that an employe such as Prof. Straus . . . may raise objection or questions as to the materiality or pertinency of any information that I seek."

**CHARGES EMERGE:** Straus threw the Feinberg Law in Castaldi's teeth. Castaldi asked about membership in the Intl. Workers Order, insisting that

such information was pertinent to "an overall consideration" of whether Straus should be allowed to teach English. He asked about the Teachers Union. Straus said his membership in it was a matter of public record.

When Castaldi pressed him for details about the union, about his association with other teachers long before 1953, Straus said: "I don't live my life in order to testify about it." He said he would appeal the case. When a trial date is set, Castaldi will step down as hearing officer and take over as prosecutor.

The case that began without a specific charge now has one: Straus was "uncooperative" with Castaldi and therefore guilty of "conduct unbecoming a member of the staff" and "neglect of duty."

REPORT FROM ALBANY

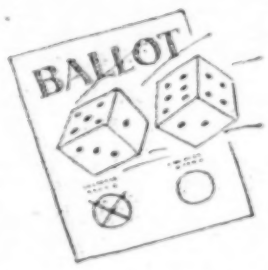
# Harriman looks to lottery and bookies to avoid taxing rich

By Arthur Schutzer

GUARDIAN legislative correspondent

THE HARRIMAN ADMINISTRATION is cautiously but unmistakeably laying the groundwork for a state-controlled lottery and legalized off-track betting to take care of all the state's fiscal problems. The Republicans, after exclamations of moral horror at gambling, can be counted on for enthusiastic support. These are the signs:

Gov. Harriman indicated that he would like the press to sound out the people on the general idea. The Daily News (Jan. 20) ran a full page of interviews with 50 New Yorkers on the pros and cons. At the same time, Assembly Minority Leader Brannigan announced that, although a lottery was personally distasteful to him, he had to recognize that it might provide funds for schools, hospitals, housing and other public services. On Jan. 24 State Sen. Zaretski (D-N.Y.C.) introduced a bill to permit localities to legalize bookmaking and to put a 15% tax on bets placed with bookies.




**HOW IT WILL WORK:** If a lottery and off-track betting are adopted, it will lift the tax burden even further from those best able to pay. What a marvelous scheme for the banks, the real estate interests, the insurance companies and the top-bracket income group! They sit back while the people least able to afford it pay even more for public services.

The Harriman plan is another step on the bi-partisan road to reducing taxes for big business and to a steady increase for consumers and wage-earners.

Thus, on the one hand, we have seen the piling on of new local taxes (sales, auto use, restaurant meal and the as yet unused tax on overnight parking and weekly pay envelopes). On the other hand, we have seen huge tax rebates to large employers through the so-called "merit-rating" loopholes of the Hughes-Brees law governing unemployment insurance; a 25% forgiveness cut in the state tax on unincorporated business; a cut in the state tax on inheritances, and a ceiling of 7% on taxable income above $9,000.

The phony skirmishing between Harriman and Republican legislative leaders has tended to obscure the real solution: get the money by taxing those best able to pay. This would mean at least the following two changes:

1. Add new tax brackets to the state income tax. The new rates should be 7% on income from $9,000 to $11,000; 8% on income from $11,000 to $13,000; 9% on income from $13,000 to $15,000, and 10% on incomes over $15,000. Brannigan recently expressed support for such a proposal.

2. Continue the 10% forgiveness cut in state income tax BUT only in favor of persons whose income is $5,000 or less.

Big business may prefer to solve the problem through bookies—but it's not the people's best bet.

### The Woodcrest way

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The Woodcrest Club of the Independent Progressive Party made a New Year's resolution to try to do a better job of building circulation of the GUARDIAN in our 67th Assembly District, Louise Kellogg, who was our GUARDIAN agent last year, has not yet recovered sufficiently from her illness to take on that job this year, but the whole club will take responsibility until she is ready to do so again.

Martha Gathart Ayres
Corresponding Secy.

# Guardian Forum, Fri., Jan. 28

THE FIRST Guardian Forum of the 1955 season will be held Friday, Jan. 28. The subject: "The Re-armament of Western Germany." It will be at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av. (13th St.), at 8 p.m.

The speakers will be Cedric Belfrage, GUARDIAN editor; Tabitha Petran, GUARDIAN world affairs editor; and Mike Gold, the beloved writer, who is now a contributor to the GUARDIAN's Spectator column. Kumar Goshal, GUARDIAN associate editor, will be chairman.

The Guardian Forum's policy is to allow plenty of time and opportunity for questions from the floor. Admission is $1 at the door.

FOR CLEMENCY

# 3 Puerto Rican youths' hearing set for Feb. 2

GOV. HARRIMAN will hold hearings on clemency petitions for three Puerto Rican youths on Feb. 7, the same week in which they are scheduled to die in the chair.

Concepcion Estrada Correa, Henry Matthews, both 17, and Pedro Antonio Rios 22, have been in Sing Sing's death house since they were convicted last March of murdering an 80-year-old woman. The trial was clouded by anti-Puerto Rican press campaigns at the time and charges of police third degrees. The N.Y. Court of Appeals split 4-3 in upholding the verdict. All three insist they are innocent.

Last week Mrs. Ambrosia Nieves Resto, Estrada Correa's grandmother, with whom he lived in New York, emerged from a visit to Sing Sing, reporting that her grandson still insists he is innocent, the victim of "blows, torture and threats" by detectives who originally obtained a confession from him. He refuted it in court but, like similar declarations by the other youths, it was a large factor in his conviction.

**THOUSANDS FOR CLEMENCY:** The clemency campaign, led by the Confederacion General Puertoriquena, 94 Clifton Pl., Brooklyn, and **El Diario de Nueva York**, Spanish-language daily, has won wide support in New York and Puerto Rico. The confederation is raising funds to carry the case to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary. It, along with defense counsel, will be represented at the Governor's hearing.

Dist. Atty. Hogan and Judge Jonah Goldstein, who tried the three, asked clemency for Estrada Correa. Gov. of Puerto Rico Luis Munoz Marin said he favored clemency for all three. Thousands of individuals have already written to the Governor. Last week the American Labor Party sent its clemency plea and asked its members to do likewise.

### Round the world with How Crazy

On Nov. 6, 1954, the Springfield (Mo.) Leader & Press published a UP story datelined East Meadow, N. Y., about the "loyalty" purging of seven trumpets and trombones which school authorities found to have been made in E. Germany.

In the GUARDIAN's Nov. 29 issue, reader A. W., of Branson, Mo., won our weekly How Crazy Can You Get contest with this item.

In its Dec. 10 issue the Democratic German Report, Berlin carried the item which it had picked up from the GUARDIAN.

Last week the same item was entered again for our How Crazy contest by reader Arthur Stration of Vancouver, B.C., who writes: "I got it from the Democratic German Report."

ROBESON SINGS

# Theatre-concert Sunday, Feb. 6

PAUL ROBESON will be the featured artist in a theatre-concert celebrating Negro History Week Sunday evening, Feb. 6, at Manhattan Center, 8th Av. and 34th St. The concert—"The End of Segregation in the Arts"—is being sponsored by the N.Y. Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions. A narration by Waldo Salt, librettist of **Sandhog**, will furnish the setting for performances by Bill Robinson, Ruby Dee, Leon Bibb and the Jewish Young Folk Singers, conducted by Bob De Cormier.

The program will include excerpts from **Romeo and Juliet, Boris Godounov** and Langston Hughes' **Simple Takes a Wife, Ballad for Americans** and a new work by Earl Robinson.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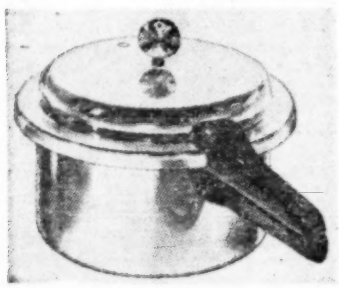

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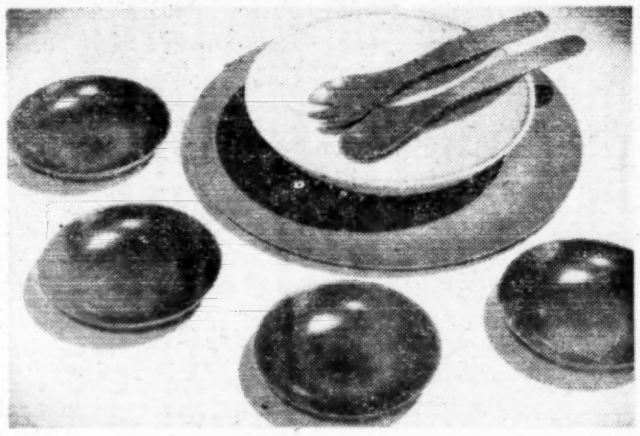

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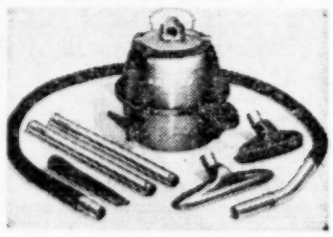

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# the SPECTATOR

## *Plumbers and poets too*

PROF. EINSTEIN recently told a young teacher having McCarthy trouble that it was better to be a plumber in America than an intellectual. This was a mistake, I believe.

It's true that the intellectual in general is being hunted like a rabbit in our land, while plumbers may still be heard whistling at their work; plumbers seem healthy without the ulcers and insomnia brought on by fear, that disease of American intellectual. So who wouldn't be a jolly plumber at $20 a day, Einstein seems to ask, rather than some tortured scientist like J. Robert Oppenheimer? The average truck-driver banging through the noisy streets seems to have more peace of mind than an unfortunate scholar like Owen Lattimore. The savage Senators are even persecuting dentists! What cheerful union carpenter would change places with a Dr. Irving Peress, attacked over and over again as a sinister intellectual spying out the secret cavities of the Armed Forces?

Interlandi in Des Moines Register

**"You don't want to grow up to be a scientist . . . think of all the investigations and probes, wouldn't you like to be a fireman?"**

In a recent tour of America I met dozens of what I call the "internal exiles," men and women smeared by the creeping fascists and deprived of a living by continual hounding and blacklisting. My hat is off to them; they are bravely meeting the great declassing, they are working as taxi-drivers, factory hands, salesmen. I even met a former biology teacher who had become an appropriate plumber. But he wasn't celebrating this like a deliverance; he had loved teaching, was a natural-born teacher. Furthermore, the snoopers and smearers were on his trail again, since even plumbers are not secure from creeping fascism, and often must sign loyalty oaths and inform or die!

**"EGGHEADS" & MONSTERS:** It's fairly easy for the hounds to hunt the American intellectual; the ground has long been prepared. Doesn't the term "egghead," now in popular use, show some of the distrust and contempt built up against the brain-workers? "Egghead" is a smear word, like some of the racist terms that prepare the ground for persecution. It offers a fake equality, is a demagogic corruption of democracy, just like the fake-anti-capitalist anti-Semitism which Engels called the "socialism of fools."

Contempt for the intellectual began with the rise of finance capitalism and the big trusts after the Civil War. The old humanist values of the farmers, workers and small merchants were swamped in the Gilded Age. Pioneer democrats worshipped their great intellectuals, Franklin, Jefferson, Longfellow, Emerson, but now business was king.

The Cadillac barbarians set all values today. Money is the standard. They believe monstrous Mickey Spillane a greater writer than Shakespeare or Emerson because he certainly has made more cash. By the same token, Norman Rockwell outshines the paupers, Van Gogh and Rembrandt, and a streamlined young evangelist like Billy Graham can buy and sell a thousand financial failures like Jesus Christ.

Because of fear, we have a serious shortage of teachers in America. At the start of the atom age, there's a decrease of students willing to specialize in nuclear physics, that hottest of all intellectual trenches. Persecution of the intellectual will eventually destroy the arts and sciences of a nation, as well as its democracy. It happened in Germany and Italy. It can happen here.

**THE TURNING POINT:** Beloved Prof. Einstein of the vast mind and the unruly hair! Old magician of science whose deeply human heart and brotherhood, whose courage against the fascist have made you one of the inspirations of our time! Please do not turn plumber!

If every democratic intellectual followed your advice, it would surrender the mind of humanity to the fascist. We cannot make such a great blunder, but must resist all along the line. Resistance, I believe, has already begun among the American intellectuals. A definite turning-point can be noticed. The writers, scientists, artists and students have gotten over the first paralyzing stage of fear, are speaking out.

As for plumbers, Professor—they are human, just like the rest of us. They don't live in any Shangri La, but also suffer under creeping fascism. Let Dr. Einstein and the plumber join hands as allies for democracy. Workers, farmers, small businessmen and professionals—this is the classic United Front that will finish the Beast, erase the fascist infamy and lead to world peace and the Golden Age!

**Michael Gold**